

## Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 227225 TOSEC 270086

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SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HEREWITH FULL TEXT MICHAEL T. KAUFMAN PAGE 2 SPECIAL  
TO THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY,  
SEPTEMBER 14, HEADED "PROGRESS IS SEEN IN CONSTITUTIONAL  
TALKS ON FUTURE OF SOUTH-WEST AFRICA."

2. WINDHOEK, SOUTH-WEST AFRICA, SEPT. 10 -- THIS VAST  
TERRITORY, TWICE THE SIZE OF CALIFORNIA BUT WITH A  
POPULATION OF 900,000, IS SOUTHERN AFRICA'S MOST SERIOUS  
PROBLEM AFTER RHODESIA.

3. FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF BLACK AFRICA, AND OF MOST OF THE  
WORLD, SOUTH AFRICA'S ADMINISTRATION OF THE ONE-TIME GERMAN  
COLONY IS A COLONIAL ANACHRONISM. THE SOUTH AFRICAN SYSTEM  
OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RACES IS AN INDIGNITY AND  
AN AFFRONT TO BLACK AFRICAN NATIONALISTS. AND THE REFUSAL  
OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO ABIDE BY UNITED NATIONS  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 227225 TOSEC 270086

DECISIONS AND END ITS OCCUPATION OF WHAT IS FORMALLY A  
TRUST TERRITORY REPRESENTS DEFIANCE OF WORLD OPINION,  
POSSIBLY CALLING FOR THE IMPOSITION OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS  
AGAINST THE SOUTH AFRICANS.

4. SOUTH AFRICA'S POINT OF VIEW IS DIFFERENT. THE GOVERNMENT IN PRETORIA INSISTS THAT ITS MANDATE OVER THE TERRITORY WAS LEGALLY GRANTED BY THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AFTER WORLD WAR I. IT INSISTS THAT TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE IS A QUESTION TO BE DECIDED NOT BY INTERNATIONAL FORUMS BUT BY THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH-WEST, AS IT IS KNOWN. IT HAS CATEGORICALLY REJECTED ANY ROLE FOR THE MILITANT BLACK GROUP THAT THE UNITED NATIONS HAS ENDORSED AS THE PEOPLE'S LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE.

5. MOVEMENT BEHIND THE SCENES. THOUGH THE VIEWS APPEAR IRRECONCILABLE, THERE HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLE MOVEMENT BEHIND THE SCENES IN THE LAST FEW WEEKS.

6. SAM NUJOMA, LEADER OF THE SOUTH-WEST AFRICAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION, OR SWAPO, THE MILITANT PARTY THAT HAS UNITED NATIONS ENDORSEMENT, HAS ISSUED AMBIGUOUS STATEMENTS FROM HIS EXILE BASE IN ZAMBIA THAT ARE BEING INTERPRETED AS A SOFTENING OF HIS POSITION BROUGHT ABOUT BY PRESSURES FROM BLACK LEADERS WHO WOULD LIKE TO AVOID ANOTHER RHODESIAN QUAGMIRE.

7. PRIME MINISTER JOHN VORSTER OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR HIS PART WHILE REPEATING HIS OPPOSITION TO ANY DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WITH SWAPO, HAS SAID RECENTLY THAT THERE IS NO REASON WHY THE ORGANIZATION COULD NOT BE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS THAT HAVE BEEN GOING ON HERE.

8. SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER, NOW EMBARKED ON A ROUND OF DIPLOMATIC SHUTTLING CONCERNING SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES, SUGGESTED THAT THE QUESTION OF NAMIBIA, AS NATIONALISTS AND THE UNITED NATIONS TERM THE TERRITORY, IS LESS COMPLICATED THAN THAT OF RHODESIA. NAMIBIA, HE SAID, RAISES PROCEDURAL PROBLEMS WHILE THOSE INVOLVING RHODESIA ARE SUBSTANTIVE.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 227225 TOSEC 270086

9. DESPITE MR. VORSTER'S ASSURANCES THAT THE TERRITORY'S PROBLEMS WILL BE WORKED OUT BY ITS INHABITANTS, AND DESPITE THE RATHER SURPRISING SUCCESS OF THE BIZARRE CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS, WHICH HAVE INVOLVED BUSHMEN WHO HAD NEVER SEEN A CITY, OWAMBO CHIEFTAINS FROM THE FAR NORTH, HERRERO SHOPKEEPERS WHO HAD NEVER BEEN IN A PUBLIC PLACE WITH WHITES AND WHITE LAWYERS, THERE IS A STRONG FEELING IN THIS CLEAN, TIDY AND DULL TOWN THAT THE FORCES SHAPING THE TERRITORY'S FUTURE ARE BEYOND ITS BOUNDARIES.

10. "MOST WHITES HERE TRULY FEEL IN THEIR HEART OF HEARTS THAT BIG BROTHER IN PRETORIA WILL NEVER ABANDON THEM," SAID BRIAN OLINN, A LAWYER AND LEADER OF THE FEDERAL PARTY,

THE WHITE OPPOSITION TO THE NATIONALISTS, WHO CONTROL THE LOCAL LEGISLATURE AND WHO ARE DIRECTLY TIED TO THE GOVERNING SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONALIST PARTY. "BECAUSE THEY ARE BLIND AND BRAINWASHED BY PRETORIA, THEY FEEL THE CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS ARE REALLY A FACADE, THAT NOTHING WILL CHANGE AND THAT THE WEST WILL ULTIMATELY COME TO THEIR RESCUE TO PROTECT ITS INVESTMENTS, ITS CIVILIZATION AND TO ARD OFF THE COMMUNISTS."

11. ORGANIZED BY A MAVERICK. MANY OF THE BLACK AND BROWN EOPLE, WHO OUP UMBER THE WHITES EIGHT TO ONE, ALSO PLACE THEIR FAITH IN REDEMPTION FROM OUTSIDE, ACCORDING TO R. OLINN, WHO COMMENTED: "MANY OF THEM BELIEVE THAT THE RUSSIANS AND THE CUBANS ARE JUST ACROSS THE BORDER IN ANGOLA WAITING TO COME IN. AFTER THE OPPRESSION THEY HAVE SUFFERED, THEY ARE PREPARED TO WELCOME THEM. BETTER THE RUSSIANS, THEY FEEL, THAN THE SOUTH AFRICANS."

12. IT IS AGAINST THIS BACKDROP OF JOCKEYING AND MANEUVERING THAT THE CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS ARE TAKING PLACE IN A 60-YEAR OLD RENOVATED GERMAN GYMNASIUM CALLED THE TURNHALLE. THEY WERE ORGANIZED A YEAR AGO LARGEMLY BY DIRK MUDGE, A WHITE MAN, A MAVERICK MEMBER OF THE NATIONALIST PARTY WHO WAS BORN IN THE TERRITORY AND INTENDS TO MAKE IT HIS COUNTRY. WITH WHAT SOME SAY WAS THE RELUCTANT BACKING OF SOUTH AFRICA, INVITATIONS WERE ISSUED TO THE TERRITORY'S 11 ETHNIC GROUPS TO SEND DELEGATIONS.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 227225 TOSEC 270086

13. THEY CAME TO THIS CENTRAL CITY, WHERE THERE THEN WERE SEPARATE WHITE AND BLACK ENTRANCES TO POST OFFICES AND SHOPS AND WHERE HERERO WOMEN IN LONG BILLLOWING HOOP SKIRTS --INSPIRED BY EARLY GERMAN LUTHERAN MISSIONARIES-- STEPPED ASIDE FOR WHITE PEDESTRIANS.

14. AS THEY SAT IN FINE LEATHER CHAIRS IN AN AIR-CONDITIONED HALL FAR FROM THE VILLAGES AND NOMAD ENCAMPMENTS, THEY WERE BRANDED AS STOOGES AND PUPPETS.

15. "I ADMIT I CALLED THEM HAND-PICKED STOOGES," SAID HANNES SMITH, EDITOR OF WINDHOEK'S SMALL ENGLISH-LANGUAGE NEWSPAPER. FOR SEVERAL YEARS HIS EDITORIALS DENOUNCING SOUTH AFRICAN POLICIES ON THE TERRITORY AND INSISTING ON MULTIRACIAL NATIONALISM, FREE OF DISCRIMINATION AND APARTHEID, HAVE LED TO STONING ATTACKS ON HIS OFFICES AND TELEPHONED THREATS.

16. "NOW I HAVE GROWN VERY ADMIRING OF THE BLACK AND BROWN DELEGATES," HE WENT ON. "THEY HAVE LEARNED. THEY HAVE BECOME TOUGH. MANY OF THE THINGS I KNOW THEY ARE SAYING IN THE CLOSED TALKS ARE SIMILAR TO WHAT SWAPO HAS BEEN SAYING AND WHAT THEY HAVE ALREADY ACHIEVED IS REALLY

REMARKABLE."

17. 'THREE IMPORTANT THINGS'. DISCUSSING THE PROGRESS OF THE CONFERENCE, CLEMENS KAPUUO, A SHOPKEEPER AND FORMER TEACHER WHO, ACCOMPANIED BY A BODYGUARD, HEADS THE HERERO DELEGATION, SAID:

18. "WE HAVE ACHIEVED THREE IMPORTANT THINGS. FIRST, WE HAVE SET A FIRM DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE--BY DEC. 31, 1978. SECOND, WE HAVE TOTALLY REJECTED SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT OR HOMELAND POLICIES THAT PRETORIA WOULD HAVE WANTED. WE HAVE ALL AGREED ON THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND UNITY OF OUR COUNTRY. AND THIRD, WE HAVE AGREED ON THE CREATION OF A MULTIRACIAL INTERIM GOVERNMENT, PERHAPS AS EARLY AS SPRING OF NEXT YEAR."

19. MR. SMITH, THE EDITOR, MAINTAINED THAT IN THE CONTEXT UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 227225 TOSEC 270086

OF DEEPLY ENTRENCHED RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, WITH ALL THE TERRITORY'S 23,000 WHITE CHILDREN ATTENDING SCHOOL,

WHILE ONLY 140,000 BLACK AND BROWN YOUNGSTERS DO SO, THE THREE ACHIEVEMENTS NOTED BY MR. KAPUUO WERE IN FACT REVOLUTIONARY. HOWEVER, HE BELIEVES THAT THE CONFERENCE IS BEING SHORTSIGHTED IN NOT INVITING MORE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION BY THE SOUTH-WEST PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION.

20. "I KNOW WHAT THEY SAY--THAT SWAPO'S CLAIMS TO REPRESENT THE PEOPLE ARE FRAUDULENT--BUT I TRAVEL AROUND THIS COUNTRY, AND I CAN TELL YOU THAT FOR THE BLACK MAN SWAPO REPRESENTS THE TRUE NATIONALISTIC ASPIRATIONS IN HIS SOUL. ACH, I DISAGREE WITH SWAPO IN MANY AREAS. THEY GET THEIR ARMS FROM THE EAST, BUT REMEMBER, THEY GET THEIR IDEAS FROM THE WEST, THEIR CLOTHES, THEIR LANGUAGE. THEY ARE THE ONLY GROUP IN THE COUNTRY THAT CAN GET 3,000 PEOPLE AT ONE OF THEIR MEETINGS. YOU CAN'T JUST WISH THEM AWAY BECAUSE MR. VORSTER THINKS THAT SAM NUJOMO IS A COMMUNIST."

21. SECRET LIAISON REPORTED. DANIEL TJONGERERO IS THE EDITOR OF A LUTHERAN MAGAZINE WHO IS THE SPOKESMAN FOR THE INTERNAL WING OF SWAPO. BECAUSE OF POLICE SURVEILLANCE, HE SAYS, HE IS KEPT FROM COMMUNICATING WITH THE ILLEGAL FACTION IN EXILE THAT HAS MOUNTED A SMALL-SCALE GUERRILLA CAMPAIGN FOR SEVERAL YEARS. MR. TJONGERERO, AT AGE 24 ONE

OF THE HANDFUL OF BLACK UNIVERSITY GRADUATES IN THE COUNTRY, INSISTS THAT THE TURNHALLE DELEGATES ARE PUPPETS. HOWEVER, HE IS BELIEVED TO HAVE HAD QUIET CONTACT WITH MANY ON THE DELEGATIONS, AND AS THE CREDIBILITY OF THE CONFERENCE HAS STEADILY GROWN, THERE HAVE BEEN HINTS

OF A SUBTLE SOFTENING OF HIS POSITION.

22. INITIALLY THE POSITION WAS THAT WITH THE ORGANIZATION' INTERNATIONAL BACKING IT ALONE WAS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF A FREE NAMIBIA. IT PUT FORTH A CONSTITUTIONAL PROGRAM EMPHASIZING BLACK SOLIDARITY, A MIXED ECONOMY AND LAND REDISTRIBUTION. NOW MR. TJONGERERO HAS CHALLENGED THE CONFERENCE TO ENTER WHATEVER CONSTITUTION IT COMES UP  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 227225 TOSEC 270086

WITH ALONGSIDE THE ORGANIZATION'S CONSTITUTION IN A REFERENDUM ADMINISTERED BY THE UNITED NATIONS.

23. SOME DELEGATES, AS INDIVIDUALS, HAVE CALLED FOR THE SAME THING. "WE CAN'T IGNORE THEM," SAID MR. MUDGE, THE WHITE MAVERICK, WHO WAS ELECTED CHAIRMAN OF THE CONFERENCE AND IS CREDITED BY THE BLACKS WITH KEEPING IT GOING. "SWAPO IS A FORCE. WE SHOULD TRY TO FIND SOME WAY OF BRINGING THEM IN. BUT THEY, TOO, HAVE TO BE WILLING TO COMPROMISE, AND I DON'T KNOW IF THAT'S POSSIBLE."

24. "WHEN YOU CAN'T THINK OF EVER GETTING ANYTHING, YOU SHOOT FOR THE MOON," SAID BENJAMIN AFRICA, A PHYSICIAN AND HEAD OF A DELEGATION THAT REPRESENTS A PEOPLE OF MIXED ETHNIC BACKGROUND. "WHAT HAVE YOU GOT TO LOSE? NOW THERE IS AT LEAST THE POSSIBILITY OF GETTING QUITE A LOT, AND SLOGANS ARE LESS IMPORTANT THAN PROGRAMS AND CAREFUL PLANNING." ROBINSON

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